Numbers.

● 802 Travelers have often stated that Carib Indians cannot count above four.[40] When I first interrogated a Spanish-speaking Kamarakoto he assured me that the Indians cannot, indeed, count above four — perhaps he had been told so by a previous visitor. Of course this is untrue and Caribs, including Kamarakotos, can count any reasonably small number, at least up to twenty, both in fact and in words. It is true that they have no root words for numbers above four (or indeed above three, but they are not aware that their "four" is not a root word) and this may be in their minds when they make such statements. It is also true that they prefer counting on fingers (and toes if need be), starting always with the little finger, to counting verbally and that number words above four are seldom used. During our stay several Indians, who knew no other Spanish, learned and apparently preferred the Spanish number words and these may eventually replace the Indian words for higher numbers, at least. To establish linguistic affinities at the outset, each of the lower numerals is given in seven other dialects increasingly distant from Kamarakoto.

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1. One — taukin. Taurepan, taukin, also (Koch-Grünberg) Teukinan, tiwin (probably Makuchi, not Taurepan?). Makuchi (Williams) ti-win. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)kin. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehuin (for tewin?). Kalina (de Goeje) awin (rounded a more or less as in English "all"). These varied but related words all appear to come from an irreducible basic Carib root. Motilon (Jahn) Kumarko.
2. Two — tsagangˀ. Taurepan, tsaggane, sa:kɔne. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ga-ne. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (a)tsa:lonkon (= atsan(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) azare. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azake. Kalina (de Goeje) aka (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosarko. Several derivations of this word have been suggested (see de Goeje) but all seem unlikely and it is perhaps a basic root.
3. Three — etseurau. Taurepan, tseuruwane, (Koch-Grünberg) seuluane (= seuru(w)ane). Makuchi (Williams) e-se-re-wa. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) (e)tse(u)luaonkon (= etseurua(on) + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) osorowa. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) azorao. Kalina (de Goeje) arua (first a rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosera. This word appears to be and is generally accepted as a basic Carib root.
4. Four — atsakɔ-leũlaˀ-nɛˀ. Taurepan, tsakurõlangˀ, (Koch-Grünberg) sa:kele:le. Makuchi (Williams) a-sa-ku-rɔ-ba-na. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) atsakelenankon (= atsakelenan + plural

40 [see footnote on p. 310, category 116 — Analyst]

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suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) asagoro-ne, asagore-nan. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) yuspe. Kalina (de Goeje) aka-bane (first two a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) kosaka. (Isaacs, cited by Jahn) kosa(k)taka. With the exception of Cumanagoto and perhaps Motilon, all these words consist of the root for "two" plus a suffix, as if to say "two pairs," "two doubled," or the like. The suffix is not the same in all cases. The root for "two" in this word, although recognizable, is seldom quite the same as in the word for "two." Note especially Ingariko and Akawai in which the gutteral, which was doubtless part of the original Carib root, is preserved in this word but lost in the word for "two."

5. Five — pɛ̨-ẽnato-pɛ̨. Taurepan mia:toikin, toikin. Makuchi (Williams) moi-ya e-tai-kin, mi-ya toi-kin. Ingariko (Koch-Grünberg) miatamunautonkon (= mia - ta-munau + tonkon). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raroe pukin. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-tone. Kalina (de Goeje) oina-toni. Motilon (Jahn) omapo. All these words contain the root for "hand," followed by that for "one" or, as in Kamarakoto, otherwise set off by numerative affixes, the sense in every case being that "five" is a hand (i.e. its full set of fingers). In Kamarakoto the word used for "hand" in this connection is the same as the ordinary separate word, but in other dialects it is often different. Thus in Taurepan "hand" is (it)ena, but mia in mia:toikin is a Carib root for "hand" otherwise absent in Taurepan. Likewise toikin in this dialect is the same word as taukin, "one," but is pronounced differently, so that even with mia omitted toikin is understood as "five," instead of its real root meaning. In Makuchi toikin and etaikin are more archaic forms of this same root than is their word for "one," tiwin.

6. Six — ẽnato-pona taukin. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teuki:n-le mia-pona tumo tanesi. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win mi-ya po-na tə'-mo-tai. Akawai (de Goeje) tegina-mia-raroe Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehu-y-pona (probably for tewi-pona). Kalíña (de Goeje) awin tyaima (a's rounded). Motilon (Jahn) onkora. (Ingariko word not recorded). Except for the dubious Motilon word, these all convey the sense of "one added to a hand." In Taurepan and Makuchi this is fully expressed, in Cumanagoto with

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decided ellipsis (literally "one-to" or "one-plus"), and in Kamarakoto with some ellipsis (literally "hand-to one," i.e. "one (added) to a hand"). Almost all Carib dialects form "seven," "eight," and "nine" by substituting "two," "three," and "four," respectively, for "one" in their expression for "six." Note that Kamarakoto is distinctive from the most nearly allied dialects in its manner of expressing all numerals from "five" to "nineteen" inclusive.

7. Seven — eñato-pona tsaganɛ.
8. Eight — eñato-pona etseuran.
9. Nine — eñato-pona atsa:kəleñlaˀ-nɛˀ.
10. Ten — eñato-iratoymarə. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) mia tame nanale. Makuchi (Williams) mi-ya tamə-na-wəˀ-rə. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) teknankon (= tekman + plural suffix). Akawai (de Goeje) mia-raro-mara. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) emia-temere. Kaliña (de Goeje) aña batala (last two a's rounded). Motilón (Jahn) omase. All these words are various ways of expressing the idea of both hands together (i.e. all ten fingers), with the probable exception of the puzzling Ingariko word.
11. Eleven — eñato-iratoimarə-pona taukin.
12. Twenty — taukin pemon. Taurepan (Koch-Grünberg) teukiːn-le pemon. Makuchi (Williams) ti-win pe-mon-gon (or pu ta-mə-na-wəˀ -ə). (Ingariko not recorded). Akawai (de Goeje) tegina kapon. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) tehui choto. Kalina (de Goeje) ovin kariña. Motilon (Isaacs cited by Jahn) omase-pisa. The Motilon word means "hands and feet." All the others mean "one person," i.e. all the fingers and toes of one person.

Parts of the Body.

*192 *197 183 826 When spoken disjunctively or in certain non-possessive contexts, the words for parts of the body are followed by the postposition -to. This is dropped when, as usual in connected speech, a possessive prefix is used and in some other combinations. Thus "head" = pupai-to, but "my head" = upupai, "your head" = apapai, "his head" = ipupai, etc. "Nose" = euna-to, but "your nose" = ayeuma, "his nose" = iteuma, etc. In Taurepan this postposition does not appear, and this is true of most allied dialects. It is not, however, unique in Kamarakoto among Carib languages. Thus in Ingariko the suffix -le is used in the same way and there are in Yauarana plain traces of a more fully incorporated postposition assimilated to such forms as -lu, -li, or -te. These same

805 211 There arise, however, occasions when an exact count of days is absolutely essential, and then recourse is had to a primitive type of reckoning string, which interestingly shows the first step in the development of the complex quipus of the Andine peoples. The Kamarakoto quipu consists of a cord, usually a piece of cotton twine, which is knotted. There is no difference between the various knots and each represents one day. This is used in two ways, subtractive and additive. In the first case the purpose is to record the amount of time that is to elapse before an expected event, such as return from a journey or maturing of a batch of kachiri. A knot is then tied to represent each day that is to elapse, and as each day passes one knot is untied. When the last knot is untied, the day for the expected event has arrived. In the additive system, the quipu starts as an unknotted string and a knot is put in as each day to be reckoned elapses, so that when complete the quipu's knots give the number of days that have passed. This system is used, for instance, to reckon the length of journeys (not the time to be allowed for completing them as in the other system) or the number of days worked — some of our workmen presented quipus as their tally against which they were to be paid. This method has the potentiality of developing into a permanent and continuous calendar record, but has not progressed nearly to this point. Once the short span of perhaps at most fifteen or twenty days has elapsed, the record is discontinued and the quipu discarded.

805 211 574 Subtractive quipus also serve as invitations. A man who plans to give a dance or other social enterprise will estimate how many days of preparation are necessary and how many guests he can accommodate. He will then knot this number of days into a quipu for each guest and one for himself and distribute the quipus to the persons invited, accompanied by a verbal message as to the nature and place of the occasion. Each person concerned unties a knot each day, and when the last knot is untied the company assembles. Such invitation quipus are often to be seen hanging from the beams inside houses.

171 211 Nordenskiöld (1930, Map 3) has shown that quipus in general occur throughout the Andes and north of the Amazon in South America and as far north as British Columbia in North America. Day-reckoning quipus occur among most relatives of the Kamarakotos, including the Taurepánes (Koch-Grünberg), Akawais (im Thurn), Kalíñas (Hildebrand), and others, but it is not always clear whether additive or subtractive.

802 The related concepts of number are adequately summarized in the vocabulary on a previous page. 1/A

Dances and Amusements

273 574 The favorite and most typical diversion of the Kamarakotos is a drinking party, etaripan. The host prepares a large amount of kachiri or paiba and invites

1/A [see pp. 29-31, category 116 - Analyst]

194 36. The words Kamarata = "Camarata" and Kamarakoto = "Camaracoto" may be written without accents since their penultimate vowels, although less stressed, are about as prominent as the ultimate.

37. An apparent exception is the place (mountain) name Ser-tapui, but here the ser is not really a separate word and -rt- is one of the regular consonant successions, r + stop. Attempts to say ser out of context generally produced se. I do not know how the form Ser-tapui can have arisen. One other place name, Atabar, ends in -r, but in this case there is Spanish influence.

38. There is no obvious reason for this and it may well occur rarely. Non-diphthongal terminal -i is frequently followed by -n.

192 114 39. A full list including all these forms and variants for any one Carib dialect might have five thousand entries, more or less. No such list has ever been published. Williams' excellent Makuchi vocabulary (which omits such variants) has 1,234 confirmed entries and 468 others representing variants or additional words from previous vocabularies. Adam compares 329 widespread Carib root words and de Goeje 559, mostly different from those of Adam. Koch-Grünberg's remarkably full Taurepán vocabulary has about 1,500 root words and at least as many more compounds inflected forms, etc. Father Cesareo estimates (personal communication) that his manuscript dictionary of this dialect has more or less 4,000 entries, which I presume includes compounds, etc.

It is well known that casual observers almost invariably underestimate the number of words in a foreign language, or even in their own. A fellow-traveler in Kamarata who had made a small collection of Kamarakoto words assured me that the language did not have over 150 in all! The Kamarakotos may be assumed to have a word for every object and every activity of their daily life. The language is poorer than Indo-European languages only to the extent that their environment and activities are less varied.

802 114 40. Farabee even implies that his Urukuenas, and perhaps also his Kumayenas, had no number words at all except one that meant any number.

193 41. But the reduced form probably does occur in Kamarakoto, cf. endana, "eat," in which the -nda- is probably this root. This may cast some doubt on my view as to the process here involved but is not, I think definitely opposed to it.

192 197 826 42. Probably there really is no such word — an interesting example of the relative lack of general categories in the language. Williams' excellent